I. Introduction

Today, people get pleasure from and are envious of the lives of others, even those with whom they are not at all acquainted (Gauntlett, 2011). Social media now play a crucial role in making it easier to observe the lives of others compared to the past (Wilson et al., 2012). This is occurring because people are communicating their public or private stories and their daily lives through text or visual material on various forms of social network services (SNS) (Seidman, 2013; Walther, 2007). Information exposed by media is shared among many people, many of whom enjoy this type of communication (Burke et al., 2010). On the other hand, the information exposed may evoke negative feelings, such as relative deprivation in SNS users (Brown & Tiggesmann, 2016), as it causes comparisons with others unwittingly as they view their lives (Bessenoff, 2006; Steers et al., 2014; Tiggemann & Polivy, 2010). As such, communication on SNS causes both pleasure and envy.

Being one of the largest social network system based platform, YouTube allows users to express themselves and communicate with others (Wattenhofer et al., 2012). Every month 1.9 billion users visit YouTube, and more than a million producers upload video content (YouTube, n.d.). Those who produce and upload videos on YouTube are ordinary people within us, and thus many viewers can feel empathy for them (Kietzmann et al., 2011). Some examples of the most popular content categories are ‘mukbang’ (which means alive online audiovisual broadcast in which a host eats food...
while interacting with his audience’, ‘game broadcasting’, and ‘beauty and fashion’ (Lee, 2018). With regard to fashion, there are a variety of contents, including ‘Get Ready with Me’, ‘Fashion Lookbook’, ‘Unboxing’, and ‘Fashion Haul’. In particular, in what have become known as ‘haul’ videos, YouTubers introduce numerous products in a format which has drawn considerable attention from viewers. Specifically, productions known as ‘fashion haul’ videos have attracted viewers' interest. The ‘luxury haul video’ concept, which introduces expensive luxury goods in quantity, is emerging as a social issue in that it causes viewers to experience both vicarious pleasure and relative deprivation at the same time (Born, 2019; Oh, 2018). Vicarious pleasure refers to satisfaction felt from the behaviors of others, focusing on actions viewers are not able to do themselves (Doob & Sears, 1939), while relative deprivation is an emotion felt when people have a low satisfaction index while comparing their lives with those of others (Stouffer et al., 1949). In particular, relative deprivation can have a negative impact on people's values or lifestyle if they continually experience such feelings. While luxury haul videos can have a positive effect by letting viewers experience vicarious pleasure for luxury items that they cannot easily have, it is worth noting that they can also give relative deprivation to viewers.

Hence, this study aimed to examine the characteristics of actual viewers' emotions when watching luxury haul videos. Beyond finding out what kind of emotions viewers were experiencing, this study aims to examine how the contents of luxury haul videos are linked to the viewer’s emotions, some of which are vicarious pleasure and relative deprivation. In addition, before proceeding with the study, we examined whether viewers perceived luxury haul videos as entertainment or a source of information, and also examined how their perception on luxury haul videos affected their later emotions of vicarious pleasure or relative deprivation. This study focused on the fact that the content of luxury haul videos could have a negative effect on viewers beyond simply giving pleasure to them, and this topic would increase academic interest.

II. Literature Review

1. Luxury Haul Videos

The term ‘haul’ can be defined as ‘to pull something heavy slowly and with difficulty’, whereas here a ‘haul video’ is a video recording in which a person discusses items that he/she has recently purchased, sometimes going into detail about his/her experiences during the purchase and the costs of the items (Le, 2010; Tanaka, 2010). What makes luxury haul videos different from other product review videos is that YouTubers introduce a variety of items in them (Kang, 2019). The characteristic of these haul videos, which show a large amount of products, is to stimulate viewers' desire for consumption (Keats, 2012). Haul videos began to be uploaded to YouTube in 2007, and as of the end of 2010, at least 250,000 of such videos were uploaded (Tanaka, 2010). Therefore, statistically speaking, it is estimated that the number of currently uploaded videos is much higher than the number of in 2010.

Many young adults, most of whom are females, introduce their purchased goods in this way, appealing to viewers via reasonable and professional shopping knowhow gained through their behavior (Romano, 2010). Among these haul videos, luxury haul videos, which introduce several luxury goods against the backdrop of expensive brand shopping bags that everyone knows, have recently become a new trend (Park, 2018). The luxury haul video concept was initially produced by a U.S. fashion designer, Jeffree Star <Fig. 1>, in 2016 (Park, 2018). At that time, rather than paying much attention that it can inspire their purchasing needs, viewers simply considered this concept as entertainment-related content while learning about the products with unique designs (Seo, 2018). Luxury haul videos remain as entertainment content which brings joy to viewers (Seo, 2018). Viewers watch luxury haul videos not to collect information about products to be purchased but to pass their time. Therefore, when making luxury haul videos, YouTubers are using fairly stimulating elements to draw viewers' attention, including discussions about the costs of the goods, as displayed on the titles of their
videos. A high price can attract viewers' attention by stimulating them with a high level of topicality (Kim, 2017). In addition, in luxury haul videos, YouTubers' expertise in consumption can be further emphasized. Their videos depict costly goods made by luxury brands, and they emphasize their expertise while giving detailed explanations about how to buy for less than the normal price and how to take advantage of sales seasons (Romano, 2010). YouTubers' expertise adds rationality to luxury purchases, and viewers develop an intention to purchase the luxury goods they view. According to Lee and Watkins (2016), who studied YouTube vloggers that influence viewers' perceptions and intentions about luxury products exposed on You-Tube, social attractiveness and friendly attitude have a greater influence on viewers' perceptions and intentions compared to vloggers' physical attractiveness. Therefore, it is possible to presume that viewers are more willing to purchase luxury goods through YouTubers with professionalism and social appeal rather than through those with physical and external attractiveness.

2. Vicarious Pleasure

Vicarious pleasure refers to the satisfaction people feel when others can do something they cannot (Doob & Sears, 1939). People form a defense mechanism to protect themselves against anxiety and tension caused by their suppressed needs. Identification, one of the mental defense mechanisms mentioned by Freud (2009), aims to protect the self by identifying the self with other people or their accomplishments and by satisfying suppressed needs. According to a research on vicarious pleasure using an avatar, service users' identification with the avatar is related to vicarious pleasure they experience (Chung, 2004). Moreover, Chung and Choi (2017), in a research on ‘loop watching’ which means the repetitive watching of a short video, also found that the feeling of identification is an antecedent of vicarious pleasure. Na (2010) found that people feel vicarious pleasure through empathy with others and immersion in them when they use media for communication and enjoyment. Here, empathy and immersion have the effect of identification, which can lead to vicarious pleasure. Therefore, empathy can be said to be a condition of vicarious pleasure (Cohen, 2001). Katz (1963) defined empathy as the ability to put oneself in another person's shoes, and Davis et al. (1987) considered it to be a skill with which one can understand others' emotional experiences. In other words, it can be said that empathy means one's sympathy with others' feelings from their position (Na, 2010).

Yoon (2005) conducted a research on female audiences, making them watch a typical Cinderella drama, and found that they felt vicarious pleasure through empathy with the characters in the drama. In another study on fantasy drama viewers, Kim and Oh (2009) classified vicarious pleasure into two types: one which derived from the feeling of happiness of the main characters; one which stems from righteousness of the characters struggling against the rich and the powerful. The two types of vicarious pleasure mentioned above are generated from the viewers' rich empathy with the heroes/heroines in the dramas.

In addition to Chung and Choi (2017), there were a few studies on vicarious pleasure expressed in the media. Most of these studies focused on fictional content with film or drama characters. Today, along with the development of social media, vicarious pleasure can generally be experienced on SNS. With the growth of SNS, numerous people feel vicarious pleasure from the lives of SNS celebrities, including influencers and micro-celebrities. Moreover, as fashion and beauty You-
Tubers have become new fashion icons recently, the number of people feeling vicarious pleasure from their purchase behaviors or lifestyles is increasing. This context also applies to viewers of luxury haul videos posted by fashion YouTubers. Because there is no precedent research related to this, it will be meaningful to identify how viewers experience vicarious pleasure through empathy with YouTubers.

3. Relative Deprivation

People determine their individual satisfaction index through comparisons with others who they perceive as similar to themselves, and they feel relative deprivation when they have a low satisfaction level (Stouffer et al., 1949). Accordingly, the core of relative deprivation lies in the subjective psychology caused by comparisons with others rather than in any objective standard. Relative deprivation refers to negative feelings such as jealousy caused by comparisons with those regarded as the superior to oneself, or by upward comparison (Smith et al., 2012; Yang, 2008). Such relative deprivation is a latent emotion in an individual, and it sometimes negatively affects his/her satisfaction and quality of life (Smith et al., 2012). Therefore, academic research to understand this emotion has been continued.

Relative deprivation can be explained by social comparison theory (Festinger, 1954), which states that every human has the basic desire to evaluate his/her opinions, competencies and situations, typically through evaluations based on information acquired from comparison with others (Festinger, 1954). According to Yang (2015), emotional responses from upward comparison vary depending on the characteristics of drama characters. It was revealed that audiences feel more relative deprivation through upward comparison when a drama character succeeds without much effort in contrast to a drama character who succeeds with a lot of work.

On the other hand, according to Diener and Fujita (as cited in Yang, 2015) an individual’s exposure in the media can make users feel relative deprivation through implicit comparison. Media users make comparison with others regardless of their situation. This phenomenon has become frequent with the rapidly increasing use of SNS (Bergman et al., 2011). Users undertake upward comparison unwittingly while continually viewing the lives of others exposed on SNS. Bergman et al. (2011) stated that images of an individual are idealized on SNS and quite different from the actual situation. SNS users focus solely on others’ ideal images and compare them with their lives (Lee & Lee, 2017). Lee and Kim (2017) demonstrated that Instagram users experience both positive and negative feelings when viewing others’ postings. According to Haferkamp and Krämer (2011), who conducted a research on relative deprivation of Facebook users, they showed negative evaluations of their bodies after viewing the individual profile photos of others. As we can see from the two previous studies, SNS users experienced upward comparison and felt relative deprivation. In addition to relative deprivation caused by appearance comparison, another research has concentrated on relative deprivation when comparing lifestyles on SNS (Krasnova et al., 2013). Hence, based on the above research, it can be inferred that relative deprivation of luxury haul video viewers is due to their comparison of their lives with those they view on YouTube.

A recent trend is that SNS users upload their private information, photos, music, and videos onto an online space while also reading and responding to others’ postings. Users also occasionally form, maintain and manage social relationships with others through messages and comment functions (Seo, 2017). Currently, users share many things, including their lifestyles and consumption activities, through YouTube, where anyone can upload his/her video content relatively easily. Accordingly, YouTube postings without any restriction can lead to natural comparison and cause relative deprivation to some viewers. This situation also occurs in the case of viewers of luxury haul videos, who gain the experience of others’ consumption behavior in a secondhand manner (Oh, 2018; Seo, 2018).

III. Methods

This study utilized interviews for empirical research
based on the experience of luxury haul video viewers in their actual lives. Due to the fact that there was no prior research on what factors caused vicarious pleasure or relative deprivation which viewers experienced when watching luxury haul videos, this study conducted a qualitative research to analyze the cause of such emotion. The reason for selecting a qualitative research was that we thought it was more appropriate in analyzing the cause of human emotions than a quantitative one which was appropriate for analyzing the correlation of specific factors. This study conducted semi-structured interviews, which allowed us to understand not only ‘surface appearances’ but ‘depth realities’ to derive the extended range of results (Ha-Brookshire & Hodges, 2009). Based on the interviewees' involvement in YouTube and luxury haul videos, surveys were conducted to understand the perceptions of viewers on luxury haul videos and their psychological experiences after watching them.

1. Interview Procedures

The research participants were composed of 20 females who had spontaneously watched more than one luxury haul video (Table 1). The participants were limited to females. According to a search with the key word ‘Luxury Haul video’ on YouTube and arranging results in the order of hits, more than 90% of YouTubers were women. Because when viewers discovered common characteristics with YouTubers when watching videos, they tended to have a psychological feeling like empathy. Next, the research participants were limited to those between the ages of 20s and 30s, because they were considered to have financial capabilities to consume luxury goods as adults (Seong & Hong, 2013), and because Millennials were heavily affected by online-based content such as YouTube (Duffett et al., 2019). After obtaining approval from the relevant review board, this study recruited interviewees using a purposive sampling method, as they were required to be individuals who had the same experiences and could express their experiences well (Mason, 1996). First of all, the recruitment document, which provided a description of this study and a small amount of rewards, was posted on several university bulletin boards and online women's communities. Next, we recruited women in their 20s and 30s with experience of watching luxury haul videos and of vicarious pleasure or relative deprivation. In consideration of the possibility of researchers' access, the recruit announcement for research participants was limited to the Seoul city dwellers.

Prior to the main interview, a preliminary interview was conducted to clarify the validity and credibility of the interview questionnaire. The preliminary interview was conducted on a total of three luxury haul videos viewers. Through the preliminary interview, it was possible to take a general look at how viewers experience vicarious pleasure and relative deprivation when watching the luxury haul videos.

In this study, we did not prepare any stimuli, as all participants searched and watched luxury haul videos.
on their own. The luxury haul video watched by the participants mentioned the word “luxury haul video” in the title. The most watched video clips were Han Hye Yeon’s. Jeffree Star and Lena’s videos were relatively strong in terms of entertainment, while Hanbyul and Cheeu’s videos had the advantage of providing good information. In particular, Han Hye Yeon’s videos showed both characteristics of entertainment and information. In the videos of YouTubers mentioned above, expensive items from luxury brands such as Gucci, Louis Vuitton, Chanel, Hermes, Balenciaga, and Prada were exposed. Therefore, the interviews of this study were based on the experiences of the participants, which were related to the above-mentioned luxury brands.

The basic information for the research participants was as follows. Eleven participants were in their early 20s, seven in their late 20s, and two in their early 30s. Seven of the college students and graduate students majored in clothing. Eleven participants had the experience of purchasing luxury goods, while the other nine had no experience of buying them. Nevertheless, eight participants, except one out of nine who had no experience in purchasing luxury goods, were considering purchasing 2-3 items in the future. There were no significant differences regarding their behavioral patterns when watching luxury haul videos, and their age difference showed no differences in their involvement with luxury goods. In addition, the YouTubers who were eligible for subscription did not respond differently with age.

Interviews lasted approximately one hour and were conducted at a café according to each participant’s choosing. Before each interview, the participant was informed of the research and was required to consent. In addition, the interview was recorded. Later, all recorded voices were transcribed in a linguistic form and the transcribed speeches were utilized to analyze the research results. At the end of the interview, the researcher paid 20,000 won to the participants as stated in the notice.

Firstly, based on a research by Sung et al. (2007) that categorized UCC (user created contents) into informational, entertainment-seeking and commercial purpose types, a questionnaire focusing on perceptions of luxury haul videos was used here. In order to gain a useful variety of results beyond the fixed frame, participants were asked what motivated them to watch luxury haul videos for the first time, and why they continued to watch them. Based on the definitions of vicarious pleasure by Freud (2009), which holds that it is an individual’s pleasure felt via others’ experiences when one’s desires cannot be satisfied due to actual barriers, the interviewees were asked whether they had a desire to purchase luxury goods, or a desire of lifestyle which it is possible to purchase luxury goods easily. Subsequently, they were asked whether they satisfied such desires through luxury haul videos.

Next, we continued the interviews to research on the feeling of relative deprivation. Based on the definition of relative deprivation by Stouffer et al. (1949), who held that it is a negative feeling by which one underestimates oneself in a comparison with others considered to be similar, this factor was measured by the following questions: how viewers perceived YouTubers, the main hosts of luxury haul videos; what were the similarities they thought they shared with them; and why they underestimated themselves.

2. Analysis

To analyze the contents collected from the interviewees, this study referred to the phenomenological research methodology by Giorgi. His phenomenological research methodology, which is adequate for understanding individual subjective experiences, focuses on illuminating the meanings and essential structures of experiences in the individual lives of research subjects (Giorgi, 2012). Accordingly, this study selected this methodology, because it was suitable for examining motives of the participants, and also for examining the psychological factors they experienced after watching the videos. Based on Giorgi’s phenomenological analysis procedure, the entire contents of the interviews were read repeatedly, and their semantic units were classified in the statements according to the emotion-related questionnaire content: their perception on luxury.
haul videos, vicarious pleasure, and relative deprivation. Finally, the semantic units were classified into representative academic terms, and the modified semantic units were integrated into the content structure of this study.

IV. Interpretation

This study explores how viewers perceive luxury haul videos as a source of entertainment or a source of information. This study identifies factors of luxury haul videos that make the viewers to empathize and to experience vicarious pleasures as well as factors that make the viewers compare themselves to YouTubers and feel relative deprivation.

1. Luxury Haul Videos as a Source of Information or Entertainment

In general, viewers' perceptions of luxury haul videos were divided into two, one as a source of information and the other as entertainment.

First, not only seven college students and graduate students majoring in clothing but also office workers who are interested in fashion were also watching luxury haul videos for information. Viewers who wanted to gain information through luxury haul videos stated that they should focus more on the acquisition of correct and efficient information than on entertainment. They insisted that luxury haul videos should provide them with reliable information and help them reduce the trouble of finding paths. In fact, YouTubers of luxury haul videos tried to offer information on a brand itself as well as on products. In addition, they provided a variety of explanation about how to coordinate and store goods, showing that YouTubers could demonstrate their professionalism in their consumption behavior, and that viewers could also gain considerable information by watching their videos (Romano, 2010).

The number of viewers who perceived luxury haul videos as a source of information was eleven, and they demanded YouTubers' professionalism in video production.

They argued that the need for video watching was reduced when YouTubers provided them with only common information, but it increased when YouTubers provided them with new information as fashion experts, which made them feel it was worth the time to watch the videos.

“When watching luxury haul videos, I felt they were useful, because I learned how to keep luxury goods. This was when I went to buy Balenciaga boots. They gave me enough explanation of the velvet item and also about how to maintain it.” (P15)

In contrast, other viewers emphasized the other aspect of luxury haul videos, entertainment. They reported that these videos had the specific characteristic of introducing luxury goods but were merely one type of posting provided on the YouTube platform. Accordingly, it was more important for the videos to entertain viewers rather than to provide professional information. Moreover, they reported that luxury haul videos must display many types of goods to stimulate viewers in an entertaining manner.

“They say ten million won in the video title, but there are only two or three goods. It's depressing, I think. 'Why do they have only this?' ” …” (P4)

Moreover, among viewers who perceived luxury haul videos as entertainment, five participants made much of the prices mentioned in the video titles. Presenting the total sum of the goods in the video title became an element for pursuing video differentiation and for attracting viewers' attention with the increase of luxury haul videos on YouTube. YouTubers were gradually starting to introduce more luxury goods and to mention higher prices in the video titles. Several viewers reported dissatisfaction when the cost presented was only one million Korean won.

“In the past when seeing a title, I only thought, 'How many things did they buy with this amount? What did they buy?' These days, if they say it's a few million-won worth of haul, I think, 'Eh? Maybe they bought one or two items.' ” …” (P7)
Viewers who perceived luxury haul videos as entertainment also emphasized the importance of comments. They stated that they enjoyed reading the comments when they did not enjoy the video, also noting that they were interested in reading comments criticizing the goods introduced in the video or comments showing evidence of divergent opinions among viewers.

"It's been a while since I watched luxury haul videos. I was bored and so read the comments right away. Luxury haul videos' comments have a lot of controversy. There are persons unconditionally saying, "You're pretty" and persons saying, "Why is she saying that?" I'm excited at such issues." (P17)

Regardles of the perception of luxury haul videos as a source of information or entertainment, viewers read comments about the postings without exception to satisfy their needs. This demonstrated again that comments played an influential role on the YouTube platform.

Whether the viewers perceived luxury haul videos as a source of information or entertainment, viewers' standard and taste were diversified when selecting luxury goods. Viewers, who were greatly interested in luxury goods but lacked in expertise due to insufficient purchase experience, reported that they began to consider aspects they had ignored and changed their priorities and standards when selecting luxury goods with the knowledge from watching videos. This also indicated that viewers came to have diversified tastes as they became acquainted with products with YouTubers' explanation or reaction. Moreover, viewers, who were very interested in the particular YouTubers, especially in cases of positive interest, imitated their attitudes, speech styles, and behaviors.

2. Empathy and Vicarious Pleasure

In agreement with the theories of Freud (2009), viewers who felt vicarious pleasure from luxury haul videos were generally those who had a high level of involvement in luxury goods, but could not consume them due to financial difficulties. Through interviews with the participants, this study examined when viewers experienced vicarious pleasure most. According to the results, it was found that they experienced it when they had sufficient empathy for the content, which was further intensified by emotional factors such as an exaggerated reaction by YouTubers, the visual stimulation of the videos, or a detailed description by YouTubers. In particular, they felt vicarious pleasure through emotional stimuli while watching YouTubers expressing delight or through the visual beauty of the goods.

The first factor that allowed viewers to empathize with YouTubers was an exaggerated reaction. As mentioned by Katz (1963) and Davis et al. (1987), empathy is to experience the feelings of others. Here, it showed the fact that emotional reactions by other viewers were important, and, in such cases, viewers experienced empathy and vicarious pleasure. Most viewers reported that they felt their heart flutter when the YouTube poster of the video ripped off the wrapping paper of a product and felt vicarious pleasure when thinking that they would buy the product someday, and when viewing the vigorous reactions in the videos. Therefore, in luxury haul videos, it was very important for YouTubers to keep their recently purchased goods packaged before showing them to viewers. YouTubers unboxed luxury goods they purchased at a store in front of viewers and showed true reactions, mentioning the styling of fashion products they owned and suggesting places to use them. YouTubers produced their videos in order for viewers to experience the possession of luxury goods in a secondhand way through them.

"At first, I thought why would they make such contents on earth, but when actually watching them, I thought they were so cute. I was feeling better while seeing them showing off." (P9)

The second factor for empathy was the visual stimulation from the videos. Some viewers, who could not buy luxury goods, experienced vicarious pleasure through empathy not only via the reactions of fashion YouTubers, but also when they were visually stimulated by the luxury goods shown on the videos. According
to Cacioppo and Petty (1983), empathy is connected to excitement of the nervous system. Visual stimulation causes excitement in viewers, and these rich feelings make empathy possible. One type of visual stimuli in the luxury haul videos was the number of luxury goods. Because luxury goods were expensive, it was difficult to purchase many of these items without sufficient financial resources. Accordingly, viewers came to experience empathy with YouTubers and feel vicarious pleasure with excitement by experiencing a large quantity of goods through these videos.

“You know there are many products even in a single haul video. In this regard, I think I feel vicarious pleasure. I have few luxury goods and so watch them with great expectations, but I am disappointed if there’re few goods.” (P4)

Another factor related to visual stimulation in luxury haul videos was the scarcity of a product. Six participants felt vicarious pleasure when they saw luxury items rarely seen in their daily lives on luxury haul videos. For instance, there were few consumers who could purchase limited edition goods made by a luxury brand. In addition, viewers tended not to purchase products with fashionable or excessively experimental designs even if they had the financial resources to do so. Consequently, viewers felt visual excitement and vicarious pleasure by observing products that they could not or were not willing to purchase through luxury haul videos.

“I want to buy something luxurious, though if I can't, I can see it. By the way, it's not easy to visit a luxury store, and I have to spend time. They show luxury goods to me and inform me of their prices… So, I think it is strong vicarious pleasure.” (P6)

The results of the interviews showed that luxury haul video viewers felt vicarious pleasure through their empathy with the videos. Viewers could sympathize with YouTubers through emotional factors such as their reactions or visual stimulation in the videos. Moreover, they experienced empathy via immersion in the videos with a detailed explanation of the goods by YouTubers. Viewers' empathy with luxury haul videos led to vicarious pleasure in these cases.

3. Relative Deprivation by Comparisons of Financial Capability and Appearance

It was in the following two cases that viewers felt the feeling of relative deprivation: they felt it when they noted that they did not have sufficient financial capability; or when they felt their appearance inferior to that of YouTubers. In this study, nineteen interviewees reported that they felt both vicarious pleasure and relative deprivation when comparing themselves with YouTubers. They felt relative deprivation because they compared their lives with those of YouTubers through the images in the videos. First, viewers, who felt relative deprivation from such economic comparison with YouTubers, made mistakes by comparing their actual image with that of the uploaders in the videos, and such
comparison was not appropriate. As Bergman et al. (2011) noted, individual images exposed by SNS show only what is considered the 'painted parts'. Therefore, when observing others' lives online, viewers should remember that their actual image and others' 'painted' image cannot be the same. Relative deprivation occurs when an individual determines a satisfaction index through upward comparison with others who are regarded as superior, and when he/she lowers the level of satisfaction (Stouffer et al., 1949). Luxury haul video viewers felt relative deprivation when they considered that YouTubers had a greater advantage economically than they did. The reason they made that judgment was that YouTubers looked more affluent because of their possession of luxury goods.

When asked about their experiences in purchasing luxury goods, the luxury haul video viewers answered that they can’t afford to purchase luxury goods as often as YouTubers, while nine participants disclosed to having no experience of buying luxury goods. Moreover, the other viewers mentioned that they had purchased luxury goods mainly as gifts to give to others. On the other hand, most of luxury haul YouTubers consumed luxury goods for their sake. Here, viewers felt relative deprivation compared to YouTubers who owned multiple luxury items, while they owned only a few. When viewers were approximately the same age as YouTubers, they felt a higher level of relative deprivation due to the possession of luxury goods. Viewers frequently mentioned a Korean fashion YouTuber, ‘LENA’, who was the first to produce a luxury haul video in Korea (Fig. 2). She gained her fame under the moniker of ‘Silver Spoon’.

“LENA says she earns the money for her purchases, but she’s been rich always. Everyone knows. So, she has higher standards for consumption than I do, and she’s buying a lot of luxury goods. She’s such a person and very different from me. Therefore, I think I feel relative deprivation.” (P8)

Another factor influencing on how viewers perceive the financial capability of YouTubers was the labor environment. Eight of the participants considered that YouTubers were ‘riding the gravy train’ compared to their own lives. In contrast, the participants here led economically limited lives and could not spend much money as they were just starting out in their careers. According to the participants’ evaluation, YouTubers’ job seemed to have the following characteristics: when their videos became influential and attracted many subscribers they gained financial capability readily compared to the amount of labor in other professions. When the opinions of the viewers were put together, they felt relative deprivation considering that they were less paid compared to their effort.

“…because in my case it’s hard-earned money, but she’s doing so-called luxury haul videos. You know, she’s making money while purchasing them even though she seems to be about the same age as me.” (P9)

Next, another factor related to relative deprivation felt by luxury haul video viewers was comparison and evaluation of appearance. Relative deprivation arose when viewers underestimated their appearance compared to that of YouTubers. According to Lee and Kim (2017), users, who had viewed ideal physical images on SNS, mentioned they felt both positive and negative feelings, including relative deprivation with envy. Most YouTubers who produced fashion-related Vlogs, including luxury haul YouTubers, appeared to have well-managed appearance. Luxury haul video viewers underestimated their appearance, and felt relative deprivation when they compared their appearance to that of
YouTubers. In contrast to Lee and Watkins' (2016) research, which revealed that YouTube Vloggers’ physical attractiveness had less effect on perception and interaction of viewers, it could be seen that physical attractiveness was a factor that could give relative deprivation to viewers.

“I think they have pretty faces, so whatever they do, everything goes off without a hitch. Of course, I know they make efforts... I'm always the same, on the contrary, their lives are getting better and better. Suddenly they have more than hundreds of thousands of followers and make the luxury haul videos. So I hate to see them.” (P17)

On the other hand, there were viewers who reported that they felt no relative deprivation even though they watched the same luxury haul videos. They thought that some YouTubers showed their natural appearance, or that they were inferior in appearance. The viewers' feeling seemed to come from the fact that they did not make upward comparison, but downward comparison. In general, downward comparison does not entail negative feelings (Smith et al., 2012).

A YouTuber, ‘Han Hye Yeon’, began to produce fashion-related videos through the channel of ‘Super Star Stylist TV’ on YouTube in 2018, being a well-known stylist in Korea (Fig. 3). She also produced luxury haul videos. The reason four participants said they felt no great relative deprivation from her luxury haul videos was because she was known to have a friendly appearance and magnanimous character.

“...In fact, Han Hye Yeon is not pretty, isn't she? So, she's very interesting and friendly. It's not important for her to buy luxury or vintage. Just fun.” (P20)

Viewers felt relative deprivation after watching luxury haul videos due to their unintentional comparison with YouTubers and their underestimation of themselves. In particular, it is a striking phenomenon these days that users compare their appearance to that of YouTubers with the increase of visual postings resulting from the development of social media (Brown & Tiggemann, 2016). Because luxury haul videos are readily available to viewers through video-format postings, viewers come to compare themselves with YouTubers, and such comparison naturally comes to cause negative feelings. When comparing with luxury haul YouTubers, viewers felt relative deprivation while underestimating their financial capability or appearance, and this effect was prominent when viewers perceived that YouTubers were approximately the same age.

4. Vicarious Pleasure & Relative Deprivation

Twenty viewers interviewed here experienced both vicarious pleasure and relative deprivation through luxury haul videos. However, the viewers' psychological traits varied according to their perception of luxury haul videos, their level of involvement in luxury goods, and the particular YouTubers involved.

Firstly, viewers who perceived luxury haul videos as entertainment tended to feel vicarious pleasure while those who perceived it as a source of information were likely to feel relative deprivation. The former tended to experience vicarious pleasure through YouTubers' exaggerated reactions and the visual stimulation of the videos. They had no need for mass-consumption of luxury goods and were likely to perceive that YouTubers' consumption of luxury goods was unrelated to their own lives, which gave them only vicarious pleasure through emotional stimulation. On the other hand, the latter tended to experience relative deprivation through comparison with YouTubers in terms of financial capability than appearance. With an underlying desire for
consumption of luxury goods, they considered that luxury haul YouTubers compared to those publishing other fashion and beauty contents were showing off their financial capability through mass consumption of luxury goods. Hence, they were more likely to feel relative deprivation through this type of forced economic comparison.

Secondly, the more involved in luxury goods the viewers were, the more vicarious pleasure they felt through luxury haul videos, and the more involved viewers were in YouTubers, the more relative deprivation they felt. According to Doob and Sears (1939), people feel vicarious pleasure by observing others when they cannot possess a desired item. In this study viewers with high involvement in luxury goods came to feel vicarious pleasure through the purchase behaviors of YouTubers even though they had no luxury goods against their strong desire for possession. On the other hand, viewers with high involvement in YouTubers constantly watched luxury haul videos even if there were no detailed remarks about luxury goods of which they were curious. As noted by Diener and Fujita (as cited in Yang, 2015), YouTubers continually exposed to viewers caused unintentional comparison and increased the possibility that viewers could feel relative deprivation. Particularly, relative deprivation was greater when YouTubers were about the same age as viewers. Negative feelings against YouTubers caused viewers to be sensitive to the video producers and made them perceive economic differences arousing relative deprivation despite the homogeneous background of them.

V. Conclusions

Recently, Haul videos in which YouTubers purchase and introduce certain types of goods are attracting much attention from the public. In particular, it is becoming more common to find luxury haul videos in which many costly luxury goods are purchased and introduced, with viewers feeling vicarious pleasure when they watch them. However, luxury haul videos have become a social issue in that they cause viewers to feel relative deprivation along with vicarious pleasure, particularly causing young viewers lacking in judgment to develop improper consumption habits. Most studies on online fashion content analyzed only consumers' behavior to purchase fashion items. However, this study tried to examine the psychological outcomes experienced by luxury haul video viewers, such as vicarious pleasure and relative deprivation. It aimed to identify what factors make them experience these two psychological traits when watching luxury haul videos.

Based on a qualitative research, this study conducted interviews with actual luxury haul video viewers and examined the causes of psychological reactions viewers experienced. First, the results of an analysis of viewers' perceptions of luxury haul videos indicated that they perceived these types of videos as a source of information or entertainment. Vicarious pleasure arose when viewers had sufficient empathy with the video, and their empathy was deepened by an exaggerated reaction, a detailed description of YouTubers, and the visual stimulation from the videos. Relative deprivation was caused by comparison with YouTubers in terms of financial capability and appearance. Vicarious pleasure and relative deprivation varied depending on viewers' perception of luxury haul videos, their level of involvement in luxury goods, and the particular YouTubers involved. Viewers perceiving luxury haul videos as entertainment were more likely to feel vicarious pleasure while those perceiving them as a source of information were more likely to feel relative deprivation. Moreover, viewers with a higher level of involvement in luxury goods felt more vicarious pleasure through luxury haul videos, while those with a higher level of involvement in YouTubers experienced more relative deprivation. On the other hand, basic backgrounds such as participants' ages and occupations did not have much influence in experiencing vicarious pleasure or relative deprivation.

Fashion-related YouTube videos deal with fashion in which everyone can be interested. They not only provide viewers with information and pleasure, but also help viewers feel empathy including vicarious pleasure. However, luxury haul videos show luxury goods
that most people cannot purchase easily, which cause viewers to feel relative deprivation.

This research has its academic significance in that it increases our understanding of luxury haul video content by categorizing them according to their characteristics and it presents extended research on an empirical analysis of luxury haul video viewers' perceptions such as vicarious pleasure and relative deprivation. This study provides practical implications for YouTubers. In producing luxury haul videos, YouTubers should try to make viewers experience vicarious pleasure through empathy. To make viewers feel empathy with the video, YouTuber should take exaggerated emotional reactions and provide detailed explanation of the goods. Also YouTubers should introduce luxury goods that can visually stimulate viewers. This study can serve as a guideline to media marketers in the luxury industry. In addition, it suggests practical direction about media marketing to luxury goods retailers as consumers are becoming more accessed to the media.

This qualitative research has its limitations in that it is difficult to completely rule out researchers' personal judgment and that the research findings cannot be generalized. There is also a limit to the possibility that the researcher's subjective opinions were involved in the analysis of the interview contents due to the lack of precedent research on luxury haul videos. Furthermore, in this study, the diverse of subjects was limited; most of the participants were in their 20s, with a large number of college students and graduate students and not many workers actually equipped with economic power. Hence, for further research, based on the factors that lead luxury haul videos' viewers to experience vicarious pleasure and relative deprivation found in this study, it is recommended to extend the range, such as the number of subjects, and subjects' residential areas. It will be interesting to look at not only the feelings experienced by luxury haul videos' viewers, but also the impact of these feelings on the intention of purchasing luxury goods. In addition, it would be interesting to conduct a research on the interaction between YouTubers and viewers, which will lead to mutual understanding, and also help the development of fashion videos in the media.

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A Study of Viewers’ Responses to Luxury Haul Videos on YouTube

Yusun Her
Graduate Student, Dept. of Textiles, Merchandising and Fashion Design, Seoul National University

Jaehoon Chun
Associate professor, Dept. of Textiles, Merchandising and Fashion Design, Seoul National University


